

The last **SPEECH** and **BEHAVIOUR**

OF
WILLIAM LATE LORD RUSSEL;

Upon the Scaffold in *Lincoln-Inne-Fields,*

A little before his Execution, on *Saturday, July 21. 1683.*

BEING

Condemned for **HIGH-TREASON** in **Conspiring the Death of the KING**
and the **Subversion of the Government, &c.**

Together with the *Paper* delivered by him to the Sheriffs, and signed
with his own Hand.

ALSO

The last **SPEECHES, BEHAVIOUR, and PRAYERS**

OF

Capt: **THOMAS WALCOT,**

JOHN ROUSE Gent. And

WILLIAM HONE Joyner,

A little before their Execution at *Tyburn*, on *Friday the 20th of July, 1683;*

Being **Condemned for High-Treason in Conspiring, &c.**

Impartially Taken, and Published by Authority.

*We do Appoint Thomas Fox to print the Speeches and Papers of the late Lord Russel,
Capt. Walcot, John Rouse, and William Hone; and that no other person presume to
print the same.*

Saturday, July 21, 1683.

Dudley North.
P. Rich.



EDINBURGH,

Re-printed by **DAVID LINDSAY, Anno 1683.**

The last Speech and Carriage of the

LORD RUSSELL,

Upon the Scaffold, &c. On Saturday the 21st of July. 1683

ABout Nine in the Morning, the Sheriffs went to *Newgate*, to see if my Lord *Russel* was ready; and in a little time his Lordship came out, and went into his Coach, taking his Farewel of his Lady, the Lord *Cavendish* and several others of his Friends at *Newgate*; in the Coach were Dr. *Tillotson*, and Dr. *Burnet*, who accompanied him to the Scaffold built in *Lincolns-Inn fields*, which was covered all over with Mourning. Being come upon the Scaffold, his Lordship bowed to the Persons present, and turning to the Sheriff made this following Speech.

Mr. SHERIFF,

I Expected the Noise would be such, that I should not be very well heard. I was never fond of much speaking, much less now; therefore I have set down in this Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me. God knows how far I was always from designs against the King's Person, or of altering the Government. And I still pray for the preservation of both, and of the Protestant Religion.

Mr. Sheriff, I am told, that Capt. Walcot Yesterday said some things concerning my knowledge of the Plot: I know not whether the Report is true or not.

Mr. Sheriff. I did not hear him name your Lordship.

Writer. No, My Lord, your Lordship was not named by any of them.

Lord Russ. I hope it is not, for to my knowledge I never saw him; nor spake with him in my whole Life; and in the words of a Dying Man, I profess I know of no Plot, either against the King's Life or the Government. But I have now done with this World and am going to a better, I forgive all the World heartily; and I thank God I die in Charity with all Men, and I wish all sincere Protestants may love one another, and not make way for Popery by their Animosities. I pray God forgive them, and continue the Protestant Religion amongst them, that it may flourish so long as the Sun and Moon endures. I am now more satisfied to die then ever I have been.

Then kneeling down, his Lordship prayed to himself, after which Dr. *Tillotson* kneeled down and prayed with him, which being done his Lordship kneeled down and prayed a second time to himself, then pulled off his Wigg, put on his Cap, took off his Crevat, and Coat, and bidding the Executioner, after he had laid down a small moment, do his Office without a Sign, he gave him some Gold; then embracing Dr. *Tillotson*, and Dr. *Burnet*, he laid him down with his Neck upon the Block.

The Executioner missing at his first stroak; Though with that he took away Life, at two more severed the Head from the Body: The Executioner held up the Head to the People, as is usual, in Cases of Treason, &c. Which being done Mr. Sheriff ordered his Lordships Friends or Servants to take the Body, & dispose of it as they pleased, being given them by his Majesties Favour and Bounty.

The Paper delivered to the Sheriff's by My L^d. Russel.

I Thank God, I find my self so composed and prepared for Death, and my Thoughts so fixed on another World, that I hope in God, I am now quite weaned from setting my Heart on this. Yet I cannot forbear spending some time now, in setting down in Writing a fuller Account of my Condition, to be left behind me, than I'll venture to say at the Place of Execution, in the Noise and Clutter that is like to be there. I bless God heartily for those many Blessings, which he in his infinite Mercy has bestowed upon me, through the whole Course of my Life: That I was born of worthy good Parents, and had the Advantages of a Religious Education; which I have often thank'd God very heartily for, and look'd upon as an invaluable Blessing. For even when I minded it least, it still hung about me, and gave me Checks, and hath now for many Years so influenced and possessed me, that I feel the happy Effects of it in this my Extremity, in which I have been so wonderfully (I thank God) supported, that neither my Imprisonment, nor the Fear of Death, have been able to discompose me to any degree; but on the contrary, I have found the Assurances of the Love and Mercy of God, in and through my blessed Redeemer, in whom only I trust: & I do not question, but that I am going to partake of that Fulness of Joy which is in his presence, the hopes whereof does so wonderfully delight me, that I reckon this as the happiest time of my Life, though others may look upon it as the saddest.

I have lived, and now die of the Reformed Religion, a true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion

union of the Church of *England*, though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of some People. I wish with all my Soul, all our unhappy Differences were removed, and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aside their Hearts, and agree against the common Enemy; and that the Church men would be less severe, and the Dissenters less scrupulous: For I think Bitterness and Persecution are at all times bad, but much more now.

For Popery, I look on it as an Idolatrous and Bloody Religion; and therefore thought my self bound, in my Station, to do all I could against it. And by that, I foresaw I should procure such great Enemies to my self, and so powerful Ones, that I have been now for some time expecting the worst. And blessed be God, I fall by the Axe, and not by the Fiery Tryal. Yet, whatever Apprehensions I had of Popery, and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail, I never had a Thought of doing any thing against it basely, or inhumanly; but what could well consist with the Christian Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. And I thank God, I have examined all my Actions in that Matter, with so great Care, that I can appeal to God Almighty, who knows my Heart, that I went on Sincerely, without being moved, either by Passion, By-End, or Ill Design. I have always loved my Countrey much more than my Life; and never had any Design of changing the Government, which I value, and look upon as one of the best Governments in the World, and would always have been ready to venture my Life for the preserving of it, and would have suffered any Extremity, rather than have consented to any Design to take away the King's Life: Neither ever had Man the Impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to me. And I look upon it as a very unhappy, and uneasy part of my present Condition, That in my Indictment there should be so much as mention of so vile a Fact; though nothing in the least was said to prove any such Matter; but the contrary, by the Lord *Howard*. Neither does any Body, I am confident, believe the least of it. So that I need not, I think, say more.

For the King, I do sincerely pray for him, and wish well to him, and to the Nation, That they may be happy in one another; that he may be indeed the Defender of the Faith; That the Protestant Religion, and the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom may be preserved, and flourish under his Government; and that He in his Person may be happy, both here, and hereafter.

As for the share I had in the prosecution of the Popish Plot, I take God to witness, that I proceeded in it in the sincerity of my Heart; being then really convinced (as I am still) that there was a Conspiracy against the King, the Nation, and the Protestant Religion: and I likewise profess, that I never knew any thing, either directly or indirectly, of any Practice with the witnesses, which I look upon as so horrid a thing, that I could never have endured it. For, I thank God, Falseness and Causery were never in my Nature, but alwayes the farthest from it imaginable. I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation; and that those who advance it, will stop at nothing, to carry on their design: I am heartily sorry that so many Protestants give their helping Hand to it. But I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and this Nation: though I am afraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very sharp Sufferings. And indeed the Impiety, and profaneness that abounds, and appears so scandalously bare-fac'd every where, gives too just reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shew'd concern for the publick good, and who have appear'd hearty for the true Interest of the Nation, and the Protestant Religion, Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to advance; which (God knows) hath often given me many sad thoughts. And I hope such of my friends as may think they are touch'd by this, will not take what I say in ill part, but endeavor to amend their wayes, and live suitable to the Rules of the true Reformed Religion; which is the only thing can administer true Comfort at the latter end, and revive a Man when he comes to Dye.

As for my present condition, I bless God, I have no repining in my Heart at it. I know for my sins I have deserved much worse at the Hands of God; So that I chearfully submit to so small a punishment, as the being taken off a few years sooner, and the being made a Spectacle to the World. I do freely forgive all the World, particularly those concerned in taking away my Life: And I desire and conjure my Friends to think of no revenge, but to submit to the holy will of God, into whose Hands I resign my self entirely.

But to look back a little; I cannot but give some touch about the Bill of Exclusion, and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that Business; which in short is this. That I thought the Nation was in such danger of Popery, and that the Expectation of a *Popish Successor* (as I have said in Parliament) put the King's Life likewise in such danger, that I saw no way so effectual to secure both, as such a Bill. As to the Limitations which were proposed, if they were sincerely offered, and had pass'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the Power of a King, and the Government quite altered, and little more than the Name of a King left. So I could not see either sin or fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of t' other; but thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easy and safe under him, than a King without it, which

must have bred perpetual Jealousies, and a continual Struggle. All this I say, only to justify my self, and not to inflame others: Though I cannot but think my Earnestness in that matter has had no small Influence in my present Sufferings. But I have now done with this World, and am going to a Kingdom that cannot be moved.

And to the conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am condemned, and which was made a constructive Treason for taking away the King's Life, to bring it within the Statute of *Edward the 3d*. I shall give this true and clear account. I never was at Mr. *Shepherd's* with that Company but once, and there was no undertaking then of securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to view, or examine them: Some discourse there was about the Feasibleness of it; and several times by accident, in general discourse elsewhere, I have heard it mention'd, as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to as fit to be done. And I remember particularly at my Lord *Schaftsbury's*, there being some general discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out, and exclaim'd against it, and ask'd, If the thing succeeded, what must be done next but massacring the Guards, and killing them in cold Blood? Which I look'd upon as so detestable a thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the same time the Duke of *Monmouth* took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly, my Lord, I see you and I are of a Temper; Did you ever hear so horrid a thing? And I must needs do him that Justice to declare, that I never observed in him but an Abhorrence to all base things.

As to my going to Mr. *Shepherd's*, I went with an Intention to taste *Sherry*; for he had promised me to reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects, he may remember I ask'd him about it, and he went and fetch'd a Bottle: but when I tasted it, I said 't was hot in the Mouth; and desired that whenever he met with a choice piece, he would keep it for me; Which he promised. I enlarge the more upon this, because Sir *Geo. Jeffries* insinuated to the Jury, as if I had made a Story about going thither; but I never said, that was the only reason: And I will now truly, and plainly add the rest.

I was the day before this meeting, come to Town, for two or three dayes, as I had done once or twice before; having a very near and dear Relation lying in a very languishing and desperate Condition: and the Duke of *Monmouth* came to me, and told me, He was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord *Schaftsbury* and some hot men would undo us all, if great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake use your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. *Shepherd's* that Night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me; which he did: And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. *Rumsey* by the Chimney; though he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more heat, than Judgment, which I did sufficiently disapprove, and yet for these things I stand condemned. But I thank God, my part was sincere, and well meant. It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with these heats and ill designs, and did not discover them. But this is but misprision of Treason at most. So I dye innocent of the Crime I stand condemn'd for, and I hope no body will imagine that so mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my self, by accusing others. The part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a rate.

As for the Sentence of death passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one. For nothing was sworn against me (whether true or false, I will not now examine) but some discourses about making some Stirs. And this is not levying War against the King, which is Treason by the Statute of *Edward the Third*, and not the consulting and discoursing about it, which was all that was witnessed against me. But, by a strange Fetch, the design of seizing the Guards, was construed a Design of killing the King, and so I was in that cast.

And now I have truly and sincerely told what my part was in that, which cannot be more than a bare Misprision; and yet I am condemned as guilty of a design of killing the King. I pray God lay not this to the charge, neither of the King's Counsel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury: and for the Witnesses, I pity them, and wish them well, I shall not reckon up the particulars wherein they did me wrong; I had rather their own Consciences should do that, to which, and the mercies of God, I leave them. Only I still averr, that what I said of my not hearing Col. *Rumsey* deliver his message from my Lord *Schaftsbury*, was true; for I alwayes detested Lying, tho never so much to my advantage. And I hope none will be so unjust and uncharitable, as to think I would venture on it in these my last Words, for which I am so soon to give an account to the great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all things.

From the time of chusing Sheriffs, I concluded the heat in that matter would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon me. And I wish what is done to me, may put a stop, and satiate some Peoples revenge, and that no more innocent Blood may be shed; for I must and do still look upon mine as such, since I know I was guilty of no Treason; and therefore I would not betray my Innocence by Flight, of which I do not (I thank God) yet repent, (tho
much

much pressed to it) how fatal soever it may have seem'd to have proved to me; for I look upon my death in this manner, (I thank God) with other eyes than the World does. I know I said but little at the Tryal, and I suppose it looks more like Innocence than Guilt. I was also advis'd not to confess matter of Fact plainly; since that must certainly have brought me within the Guilt of misprision. And being thus restrained from dealing frankly and openly, I chose rather to say little, than to depart from Ingenuity, that by the grace of God I had carried along with me in the former parts of my Life; and so could easier be silent, and leave the whole matter to the conscience of the Jury, than to make the last and solemnest part of my life so different from the course of it, as the using little Tricks and Evasions must have been. Nor did I ever pretend to a great readiness in speaking: I wish those Gentlemen of the Law who have it, would make more conscience in the use of it, and not run men down by Strains and Fetches, impose on easie and willing Juries, to the ruine of innocent men: For to kill by Forms and Subtilties of Law, is the worst sort of Murder: But I with the Rage of hot men, and the Partialities of Juries may be stopp'd with my Blood, which I would offer up with so much the more Joy, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way.

Since my Sentence, I have had few thoughts, but Preparatory ones for death: Yet the Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the best and dearest Wife in the World, prevailed with me to sign petitions, and make addressees for my Life: To which I was very averse. For (I thank God) tho in all respects I have lived one of the happiest and contented'st men in the World, (for now near fourteen years) yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without difficulty, that I did any thing for the saving of my Life, that was Begging. But I was willing to let my Friends see what Power they had over me, and that I was not obstinate, nor sullen, but would do any thing that an honest Man could do for their Satisfaction. Which was the only motive that sway'd, or had any weight with me.

And now to sum up all, as I never had any Design against the King's Life, or the Life of any man whatsoever; so I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government. What the heats, Wickednesses, Passions, and Vanities of other men have occasioned, I ought not to be answerable for; nor could I repress them, tho I now suffer for them. But the will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit; and trust that thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions; the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life; and that thou wilt not lay my secret Sins to my charge; but wilt graciously support me during that small part of my Life now before me, and assist me in my last Moments, and not leave me then to be disorder'd by fear, or any other Temptation; but make the light of thy Countenance to shine upon me; for thou art my Sun and my Shield: and as thou supportest me by thy Grace, so I hope thou wilt hereafter Crown me with Glory, and receive me into the Fellowship of Angels and Saints in that blessed Inheritance purchased for me by my most merciful Redeemer, who is, I trust, at thy Right Hand, preparing a place for me; into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.

Signed

Will. Russel.

THE SPEECHES

Of Captain *WALCOT*, *JO. ROUSE*, and *WILL. HONE*.

On Friday the twentieth of July, 1683.

Captain *Thomas Walcot* being drawn to Tyburn in one Hurdle, *John Rouse* and *William Hone* in another, and there put into a Cart, and Reverend Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, and one of His Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, with Mr. *Smith* the Ordinary of *Newgate*, began to acquaint Captain *Walcot*, That this was the last time he had to spend in the world, and therefore desired him to make a good use of it, telling him, *That as death leaves him, so Judgment will find him*; and earnestly exhorted him to make an ingenuous Discovery and Confession of what he knew touching the Conspiracy and Treasons of which he had been found guilty; and received Sentence to die.

To This Captain *Walcot* replied, That he had some Papers in his Pocket, of what he had prepared to say in Writing, because his memory was bad; therefore he desired they might be pulled out, and he would read them.

Then Dr. *Cartwright* and the Ordinary spake to *Hone* and *Rouse* to the effect before-mentioned, earnestly desiring them to confess the whole of what they knew; instancing some places of Scripture to them, as *Josuah's* advice to *Achan*, &c. *My Son, confess and give glory to God whom you have dishonoured*, &c. Telling them, they would have imbrued their hands in the Blood of a merciful and good Prince who had often pardoned, and gave many Acts of oblivion and Indemnity to his Subjects; and whose Reign hath preserved the purity of the Protestant Religion amongst

us: That we cannot enjoy more than we do enjoy: with other good admonitions for them to make clear Discoveries of the truth of what they knew.

Captain *Walcot* in the mean while was prepared to read his Speech.

Dr. Cartwright askt him if he could discover any more than he had done already.

Walcot. I've not in the general. I told the King the thing was laid very deep: There was a Gentleman with me last night, I told him what I told the King, and that was all: I told him I thought an Act of Indulgence would be very necessary, because he had a great many men to take Judgment of. I know not the particulars of the Design; but the King hath the Lord *Howard*, Mr. *West*, and others that know more than I. I was never in Council with them; nor never with them above four, five, or half a dozen times.

Then looking upon his Paper, he began his Speech as follows.

This great Concourse of people do not only come here to see me dye, but also to hear what I shall say; and because I would not be reproached, and thought to be an Atheist when I am gone, I have two or three words to speak for my Religion. I do believe in Three persons, and one God; and I expect and hope to be saved by the Merits and Righteousness of his Son Christ Jesus, without the hope of an advantage by any Merits or Righteousness of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God; that they were not written according to the will of Man, but holy men of God writ them as they were inspired by the holy Ghost.

I believe that these Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the method of our Worshipping of God: I believe that as Christ is the head of his Church, so he is their Law-giver, That it is not in the power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or power upon earth whatsoever, to set up the Precepts and Traditions of men, and to make them of equall validity with the word of God. I believe it was not because the Jews rejected and Crucified Christ, that he rejected them; but because they rejected his Word; which appears by the Three thousand that God by one Sermon of *Peter's* Converted; they being prickt in their hearts, and touched in their Consciences, cryed out, *Men and Brethren what shall we do?* and they were that day added to the Church. It was certainly because the Jews rejected the Word and Gospel of Christ, that the things were hid from them, which belonged to their peace. It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a sinful course of life, till God withdraws his Spirit from us: For it is said, *it shall not always strive with man. Death is the wages of sin.* I believe had not Adam sinned, he and we his posterity had not dyed. Death is said to be the King of Terrors, but it is only so to those that are terrified with a terrifying Conscience, that have the arrows of the Almighty sticking to them, from Convictions of great guilt, and see no hopes of mercy, have no assistance of pardon; but those that are Christs, he takes away the terror, and horror, and sting of death: he enables them to say with *Paul*, *to me to live is Christ, and to dye is gain*: he enables them not only to get unto Christ, but into Christ; and so they have Communion and Fellowship with the Father and the Son. It is no hard matter to get the notions of the promises of the Gospel into our heads but unless the Lord is pleased to apply them to our hearts, we cannot believe: except we be in Christ as branches in the Vine, we are not Christians in deed. It was the case of poor *Francis Spira*; he was certainly a knowing man, but notwithstanding he had not faith to apply the promises. Christ hath said, that *he that believes in him, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that lives and believes in him, shall never dye.* So if we be able to apply the promises by the Spirit of God, we may have comfort through Faith: but then Faith is the gift of God, and Faith comes by hearing the Word of God, and receiving it in the love of God.

I shall not be tedious, Mr. Sheriff, I shall be very short.

Mr. Sheriff. Take your own time.

Walcot. As to the present occasion of my death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury nor the Kings Council: I only blame some men that in reality and in truth were deeper concerned, and more engaged than I, that came in as Witnesses against me; who Swore me out of my life to save their own, and who for fear they should not do it effectually, contrived that, That I will appeal to you all, whether there be a probability in it or not: for they said that I made it a scruple of Conscience to have a hand in killing the King, or to embroe my hands in his blood, but was so generous as to undertake the Charging his Guards, whilst others did it; and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me so much an Idiot, that I should not understand it was the same thing to engage the Kings Guards, whilst another Killed him, as to Kill him with my own hands. But however, by their Swearing against me, they have secured their own Lives and Estates, and made my Blood the price of theirs. I confess I was so unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Rumsey*, (one of the Witnesses against me) to some meetings, where some things were discoursed of, in order to the asserting our Liberties and Properties, which we looked upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he, and Mr. *West*, and some Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great promoters of those Meetings. I was near a quarter of a year ill of the Gout, and during that time Mr. *West* often visited me, and still his discourse

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course would be, concerning *Lopping the Two Sparks*; That was the word he used, meaning the King and the Duke; and proposed it might be done at a Play: This was his frequent discourse: for he said, Then they would dye in their Calling: it was his very Expression. He bought Arms to do it with, without any direction of mine; I never saw the Arms, nor I never saw the men that were to do it: though they said they had fifty employed to that end. I told several of them, That the Killing the King would carry such a blemish and stain with it, as would descend to posterity; that I had Eight Children, that I was loath should be blemished with it: and withal, I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Fathers Blood, if it were but to vindicat himself from having any hand in it. Mr. *West* presently told me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not refuse to give an Engagement, that he would not punish those that should kill the King.

And now I desire to forgive all the World from the very bottom of my heart; and I pray God of his mercy from my heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who delivered me up, who promised to carry me into *Holland*, but instead of that, he brought me into the condition wherein I now am. I do desire with all my heart to forgive the witnesses, and withal do earnestly beg that they may be observed, that some remarks may be set upon them, whether *their End be Peace*, and that *they die the common Death of all men*. Certainly, though it be the Law of the Land I ought to die, and the King may justly and reasonably put me to death for being in those Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think these men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betrayed me, and taken it away. Then in the next place I beg leave, Mr. Sheriff, to speak one short word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, though I was not so fortunate and so happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any man speak, nor speak themselves, that which they would not have repeated: for there is no such thing as Faith in man to man, whatever there is in man to God: either the Tears of a Wife, or a Family of little helpless Children, something or other will tempt and provoke men to betray one another. When God hath a Work to do, he will not want Instruments, for he can make them; nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to pass. And I do most heartily desire, and my earnest Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the last Blood spilt upon this account. I know Acts of Indulgence and Mercy in the King would make him much easier in his Government, and would make his People sit much easier under it; and that the Lord may encline his heart to Mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good man. What hath happened, and what hath been the present occasion of our Calamity, I suppose every man knows; what Provocations have been on the one hand, Fears and Necessities, Jealousies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, resolving to use my utmost endeavour to make that Peace and reconciliation with my God, which is impossible for me to make with man; and to make it my hearty Prayer to the Great God before whom I am in little time to appear, That he would stanch this Issue of Blood, and find out some other way to preserve these Kingdoms in Unity and Peace; to the Honour and Glory of his Great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One word, Mr. Sheriff, I desire leave to speak as to *Ireland*, because the King prest it hard upon me, and several people have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concerned in this matter. I do aver here, as in the presence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, That I do not know an English-man nor Protestant in *Ireland* engaged in it. What I did know, was onely of one Scottish Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he says he does not believe it. For they that were concerned, I was never in any of their Counsells: I never saw any of those Lords, but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above six months ago. I never saw nor spoke with one Lord, onely my Lord *Howard*; I heard my Lord *Howard* say, That they did not value *Ireland*, for it must follow *England*.

I have not more to say, Mr. Sheriff: but truly you will do an act of a great deal of Charity, if you will prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People; I think so: and to the Lord have mercy upon me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for that which is their Vertue, and not their Crime; That they have been Witnesses for the King.

Walcot. I was not for contriving the Death of the King, if you'll believe me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for betraying of you in Contriving the War, upon which the death of the King must have followed, if your Treason had gone forward, for else you could not have defended your self from that Justice to which he hath brought you: and therefore for you to lay that as a Crime upon your Witnesses, is indeed very strange.

Walcot. Sir, I think it was but reasonable that I should suffer that is due from Justice, and reasonable by the Law; but these men, they did not come in against me till they did it to save themselves.

Dr. *Cartwright*. Better late than never: a man had better save his Soul and Body too, than die as now you do; for Crimes that ought to make every good mans heart relent; and therefore for

your blaming them, it was for that which was their duty to do; they have not committed a Crime in that, but a very meritorious act.

Walcot. They have revealed it with that aggravating circumstance, which I think no rational man will be guilty of.

Dr. Cartwright. That circumstance which you call aggravating, is no aggravation at all: That is rather a mitigation of your Crime, to make them believe that You were tenderer of the Kings person than to shoot him when he was not armed. But you confess you were consulting this Crime.

Walcot. I was not to have a hand in the Kings Death.

Dr. Cartwright. But it was proposed when you were there.

Walcot. It was so.

Dr. Cartwright. And it was agreed to be done.

Walcot. Truly I do not know how far it was agreed; I was there many meetings.

Dr. Cartwright. I hope very Meetings you could not but be sensible of.

Walcot. There were several Meetings wherein the business of the Kings life was never spoke of.

Dr. Cartwright. That was agreed in those Meetings; but you had a tenderer conscience.

Walcot. I say, they were for asserting our Liberties and Properties.

Dr. Cartwright. I would fain have you explain that.

Walcot. Truly, Sir, since you do press me to speak, we were under general apprehensions, and so were those Lords that are likely to suffer, as I have heard; they were under general apprehensions of Popery and Slaverie coming in.

Dr. Cartwright. What signe was there of it? You had no persecution at all; you were allowed by the Law to meet five in a house, besides those of the Family. It is true, the Conventicles have been disturbed of late; and I would have you look upon it as a Judgment of God, to bring you to this for forsaking the Church of *England*: You have forsaken Communion with that Church in that way you were instructed from your Youth.

Walcot. I do not come here to dispute of Religion, but I come here to dye religiously, if it please God to enable me.

Dr. Cartwright. I pray God enable you: but I would not have you charge that as a crime upon the Witnesses, which was their Duty.

Walcot. I can't tell how to excuse my Witnesses for aggravating things against me, and making them worse than really they were.

Dr. Cartwright going to reply; *Walcot.* Pray, Sir, give me leave; for a man to invite a man to a Meeting, to importune him to his Meeting, to be perpetually soliciting him, and then to deliver him up to be hanged, as they have done me ----

Dr. Cartwright. It was a Crime to sollicite you to those Meetings; but when you were in, it was a Duty in you and in them to reveal it: if God had given you the grace to reveal them, the turn had been theirs which now is yours. And whereas you say you cannot excuse them, that is uncharitable.

Walcot. I do forgive them, and I desire with all my heart God would forgive them.

Dr. Cartwright. You confess you were guilty enough to take away your life.

Walcot. I was so. The same measure we mete to another, that measure God will mete to us: Then, Sir, I do leave it to God.

Dr. Cartwright. Then you pray this may be the last blood spilt upon this account.

Walcot. I do so.

Dr. Cartwright. Would not you have Traytors brought to their end? You talk of spilling Blood, as if it were innocent Blood now spilt, when you do confess and own the guilt. But I shall give you no further disturbance, but my Prayers to Almighty God for you, that God would give you mercy. And then turning to *Hone*.

Dr. C. Hone give glory to God, and unburthen your Conscience, for you have but a short time to stay here.

Hone. I have nothing further to say, but that I have been guilty of the Crime. *Dr. C.* You are so?

H. Yes, I am guilty of this Crime according to the Law of the Land.

Dr. C. I, and according to the Law of God? *H.* Yes.

Dr. C. You say according to the Law of the Land, a man may be sworn out of his life by false witnesses, but you were guilty of Conspiring the Death of the King, and raising an Insurrection?

H. Truly I must say as the Captain well minded, I was drawn in. *Thou sawest a thief, and thou consentedst with him*: So I say, that I was drawn in, I saw the thief and consented; I have looked upon my self since to be the more guilty of blood, and my Circumstance was to be drawn in, and insnared; for I never was at any of their meetings, none of their Cabals, but in a publick Coffee-house or Tavern, where they discoursed the matter of Fact: and I was to meet the *K.* and the *D.* of *Tork*, but I did not know at that time when, or where, nor what was my business.

Dr. C. But you were to assist? *H.* Yes, I promised that, to assist.

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Dr. C. Do you beg God and the Kings forgiveness for it, from the bottom of your heart, that you have been guilty of this : *For if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the Ditch*; as well he that leads, as he that is led, although he that leads may fall deeper : There are circumstances make one mans crime greater than another ; the greatness of theirs do's not lessen yours.

H. I believed that then I was very near another snare : I was resolved to go down into the Countrey, and not meddle in the thing at all, and had been in the Countrey, but meeting with *Keeling*, (I freely forgive him for whatsoever is done,) he called me, and discoursing with him, I did say I was for killing the K. and saving the D. of *York*.

Dr. C. Why was you for saving the D. of *Y*?

H. I do not know what to say as to that : there was no reason.

Dr. C. What was your own private reason for killing the K. and saving the D. of *Y*?

H. As to that I think this, that the D. of *Y*. did openly profess himself to be a *R. Catholick*, and I did say I had rather dispose of the K. than the D. of *Y*.

Dr. C. Had you rather a *Papist* should Reign over us, as you take him to be, than the K.?

H. I do not know what to say to that.

Dr. C. That do's deserve a reason, Mr. *Hone*. You ought to give some reason of that, you cannot but have some reason; if you had had a design to kill the D. and save the K. then it might be to prevent Popery, but you say the quite contrary. God in Heaven forgive you for your murderous design.

H. I know as little of this as any poor silly man in the World; I was fain to gather it, I had it not so down right, I was drawn into it, however I am now to die : as for the witnesses, I desire the Lord to forgive them.

Dr. C. They have not wronged you, they have done their duty. *Rouse* what say you?

Rouse. As a man and a Christian, in the first place, as God hath made me a Christian through his Grace, that the World may understand, that I do not dye as Capt. *Walcot* sayes, an Atheist; I do here declare in the presence of God, and this vast number of people, what Faith I dye in: In that very Faith which was once delivered, and in the Belief of that Doctrine which the Church of *England* makes Profession of, and is agreeable to the word of God, being founded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets, and Apostles, whereof Jesus Christ is the Corner-Stone. There have been very various opinions concerning me, upon the account of the various employments that I have been exercised in, both here, and beyond Sea : It has been my lot to fall under such circumstances, and to fall under such misrepresentations and censures, upon the account of some publick Employments, that I have been in for the K. and after I returned from *Flanders*, upon the account of Disbanding, it was almost morally impossible for such a one in my capacity, to stand right in the affections and opinions of all people. When I was employed in *Flanders*, in the payment of that Army, I was then between 2 Rocks; I will leave it to the Judgment of all sorts of people, you know the Countrey, I need not particularise, nor reflect upon opinions, and the like. But I having been bred up in *England*, and had that education it pleased God to give me, I was not fond of, nor carried off with that debauchery in those times; and sometimes, more than once or twice, it was my lot that I was like to have been murdered for pleading for, and justifying the actions of the King of *England*. Since my return, and being employed under Sir *Thomas Player*, and some others about disbanding, there it came to my lot, because I could not humour some Gentlemen, who neither feared God, nor honoured the King (I will not say of all, for I know some were very worthy Gentlemen, that scorn'd any of those actions, which some would attempt. There is one worthy Gent. I can speak very honourably of) that so they might have their pockets full of money, did not value how the accompts were stated, and at the very same time I was under many temptations of handfuls of Guineas in my hand to do so and so, to cheat the K. and because I would not do that, I was looked upon as a Jesuit. I did wave all these things under those circumstances. It hath been my lot likewise being employed by Sir *T. P.* and the rest of the Commissioners to fall into those Companies and places where my Lord *Schafisbury* and others have been, and have had some kind of Discourse, which was not Treason, but rather a thing that I ever abhorred, and declared a detestation of : since these hurly burlys, concerning Parliaments going off, and coming on, did discontent the people upon one account or another, I confess I have been a hearer, and have understood too much of some kind of meetings, which I pray God forgive them for, and especially those that call themselves Protestants, being 1000 times worse than any others. That there have been such kind of Designs, and Meetings, and Clubbs, I have not been ignorant of; God forgive me that I have not been as careful and as diligent, and as ready and forward to discover it a great while since. That I ever had a hand in it, or the least thought or resolution, or intention to appear in it, but rather, on the contrary; have declared my opinion against it both in the sight of God, and man, as a breach of the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, and contrary to our Duty, who are bound to pray for the King, and all that are in Authority.

city. I do declare in the presence of God, I am a perfect stranger, and I thank God my Conscience is clear. I have acquainted his Majesty in Council, and I have had the Honour to be admitted into his Majesties presence in private almost half an hour on *Saturday* was seven-night, where I was as clear and above board, and as faithful to his Majesty as I could be in an humble manner, according to my duty; where I offered to have some time, and place allotted, that I might give him a whole Scheme of the business: For there were a great many Gentlemen that had a respect for me; It was their opinions that I had a general knowledge of all the Clubbs, and all the Designs that ever were since the King came in, but they were under a mistake. I gave his Majesty an account to the best of my knowledge, and when I had done, his Majesty seemed to be pleased, and to thank me for it; but before I had power to put it in writing, and wait upon his Majesty, the Providence of God did so order it, the Council thought it fit that I should be committed to Prison, where I was some dayes; I have had more kindness among *Heathens* and *Indians*, I pray God to forgive them for it, I had not liberty to send to my Wife big with Child, in two dayes where I was.

Sir, I shall not hold you in suspence, and multiply words, but what is most proper to this occasion. What I have given to his Majesty in Council, and what I have spoken to his Majesty in private, is nothing but the naked truth to clear my own Conscience, that I may not go out of the World with any thing upon me: I wish those that call themselves Protestants would discharge their duty better to God and the King, than either I or the best Subject ever did. I have lookt upon't as an obligation ever since I knew what it was to be a man, to carry my self obedient to those that God has set over me, especially the King and those that are in Authority; and I have made it my practice to pray for the King, as for my own soul. That it has been my lot to be acquainted with those vanities of Clubbs, and persons, no rational man will wonder, considering the Circumstances and places I was called to: There is one particular Gentleman, Mr. *Sheriff*; I must desire the favour to clear my self by something that I took occasion to speak of yesterday. I did acquaint you, Mr. *Sheriff*, with what I had spoken to the King, how I was interrupted in the further discovery of what I had a mind to say. What was further said yesterday, it was nothing but the naked truth: in the first place, as to what was afterwards discoursed of, as to some particular persons, namely and particularly Sir *Thomas Player*, I must do justice to all the World. That he hath been acquainted with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, none, here, will wonder; but that he hath been very shy of his Company since he came out of the *Tower*: for he told me many times, he never was in his company but once, for he did not like some things, & saw some designs that he was afraid were going on, and thereupon Sir *Thomas Player* was so ingenuous and honest to the King, as to break off. I always look'd upon him as a very Loyal subject, and I must declare in the presence of God and all these people, I never heard him speak one dishonourable word of the King; what he may have had with others is best known to himself. I have been in several Clubbs eating and drinking, where it has been discoursed to accommodate the Kings Son, the D. *M.* That there was a design to set up the D. of *M.* I will not say while the King reigns, though some extravagant hot-headed men have taken upon them to discourse these things, but not any worthy man: I know those that were worthy to be called by that name, have declared in my hearing, that in opposition to the D. of *Y.* if the King be seised, they would stand by the D. of *M.* There are others, (I will not give nicknames to any, you are wise men, and know what I mean by speaking in the general,) that were for a Common-wealth, and some there were, two or three persons, I shall be as plain as I can, and I hope you will bear with me since it came to my lot to come to the knowledge of it. Some were for the D. of *M.* some for a Commonwealth, and some, but very few, not worth naming, were for the D. of *Bucks*: But that I think fell at last between these two, being the greater part, as far as I did apprehend by discoursing here in the City, which I did very frequently do. But the way of these Gentlemens discoursing these things was only one at a time, especially a very industrious Gentleman that hath made it his practice a long time, (for it hath been my lot to be acquainted but two months and that too long,) which is the Witness that comes against me, and I pray God to forgive him, and I blame him not for discovering me, but for the words he spake himself, by way of instigating me to enter into a design against the King; they were his own words and not mine. I blame him not for discovering any thing whereby the King may be served. He did tell me severall times there were Clubbs in *London*, but I could never get out of him the places where the Clubbs were. Yet I endeavoured what possibly I could to come to the bottom of that design; for my intent was to make a faithful and true discovery, that I might not go to *Whitehall* or a Justice of Peace, with an idle story, or a sham: but at last I got out of him that *Rich. Goodenough* was chiefly instrumental. This was a very few days before notice was given, this certain person *Thomas Lee* the *Dyer*, that he was sworn against by one *How*: I asked him the meaning. He told me that that *How* was a very Rascal. I asked *Lee*, Sir, what course shall be taken? for what by the *Dollars-Commons* of the one hand, and what by the persecutions of the other, we must think of a way how to relieve it. There is some design in hand, says *Lee*, do'nt you know? no, said

I, I would be glad to hear. There is an invasion, said he, going on, a design against the King and the Government, but that was only a fallacy; but he discovered afterwards to me that there was a resolution, and a certain number of people about the City and the Nation, to make an attack upon the *Tower of London*, upon the *City of London*, *Witchehall*, and upon *St. James's*: I said what do you design then? have a care that you don't shed mote innocent blood, for the Land is stained with blood too much already. No, saith he, the resolution as Mr. *Goodenough* saith, is not to spill a drop of blood, but only to secure the Kings person, that the Papists do not kill him, and then saith he we will deal with the D. of Y. as we please. They were his own words to the best of my remembrance. Afterwards this Gentleman was sworn against by one Mr. *Keeling East-Smithfield*, saith he, he's a Rogue and a Dog, and I have seen him but once these nine Months, and I had no discourse but only drunk a glass of drink; which proves since to the contrary. Being then in Company at the *Kings-head Tavern* in *Swithens-Ally* near *Exchange*, news was brought, he was sworn against, he did not know what to do, but found out a place near *London-wall*, and desired me to go to one or two about the matter, he knew not how to obscure himself, his house was beset, Messengers after him, and likewise a kind of Judgment or Execution; how to put both ends together he knew not. I told him, if he would I had a bed, he might go to my house. I never heard a word from *Rich. Goodenough* one way nor another or any design against the K. and the Government, whom I have known this seven years; only this *Lee* told me, his hand was as deep as any other. Its true, this Gentleman comes and swears against me, that I should be the only person to ingage in taking the *Tower of London*. Sir *John* --- you know very well in what capacity I have been, and how very incapable I was in my person to take the *Tower of London*. I speak in the presence of God, before whom I am to appear in a few minutes, I never had any such thought, never had any such desire, never consulted with any persons of Quality, never discoursed of any Arms in order to it, but only this I was saying. This fellow being set on (and I think a more proper person than any man in the World) for that he was a little low in the World, he was under a temptation of being thrown out by an *Anabaptistical Church*, for some kind of failings, he was under a temptation to make himself some body, therefore he did close with Mr. *Goodenough* and some others; and when the first Proclamation came forth, he himself told me, I never knew it before, that *Rumsey*, Captain *Walcot*, *Neltbrop* and *Goodenough* and *West* were concerned in this design, he was the man told me: and when the second Proclamation came out; then he could tell me of those too; I told him he was a wretch he had not discovered it betimes; as to his swearing against me, for which God forgive him, that I had a hand in taking the *Tower of London*, the thing is this: He knew I was intimately acquainted with a certain Captain, one *Blage* who was my servant 21 years ago in *Virginia*; he hath been a very faithful and honest servant, I believe, to his Majesty for these 15 years, particularly five years in three of his Majesties Men of War. I know very well the man is of such a principle that he abhors to ingage in any wicked design. But only *Lee* discoursing at random about taking the *Tower*, Captain *Blage* gave this answer, (for he is a very jocular man,) if I were of a mind to take it, were it for the service of the King, if there were an enemy coming in, saith he, I would with six Ships well manned and armed with Guns undertake to take the *Tower*: upon what accōpt he said it, I don't know, but I believe in my Conscience he had no more design to put such a thing in practice, than I have to cut my own throat at present; Captain *Blage* had heard these discourses *pro* and *con*, saith he 2 or 300 men would do it, it's weak in such a place, I wonder his Majesty does not make it stronger. Now when he came to swear, as soon as he was taken up, he took occasion to swear against me, all the discourse he used in pressing me to undertake this design.

Mr. *Sheriff Rich*. Pray, if you have any thing that was not told in Court, discover it, but you need not go over that which was in Court.

Rouse. Mr. *Sheriff*, I have nothing at all to say, either to blame the Judges, or the Jury, or the Witnesses themselves, the greatest of all. I thank God I was not any way to have had any hand in it: but the very words themselves that came out of his mouth he makes me the Author of, but I freely forgive him, as I desire God would forgive me: tho he did tell me positively there were five hundred Arms to be brought out of the Countrey. I heard of such a thing, I confess, here and there, but could never know the Authors of it, nor the Clubbs where it was discoursed: it was lately that he told me, *Goodenough* told him, That the King was to be taken off as he came from *Windfor*, That there was several things to be don in order to it, That they wanted a place of meeting, and some thought of *Salisbury Plain*, and some of *Black Heath*, but the most convenient place pitched upon was *Black Heath*. They were discoursing how to gather the People together; Some were for communicating it priately: others for a Ball. They asked my thoughts: said I, the best way will be, if you throw up a Silver Ball, to get the People to gether: for my design was to get what I could out of them. Thereupon he went to Mr. *Goodenough*, and discours'd him, that my Opinion was, to throw up a Silver Ball and declare, All those that will come and drink a Bowl of Punch, shall be welcome, and that by this means they would have gathered thirty or forty thou-

sand men in two or three dayes time, which otherwise would have been a fortnight a doing: but for himself, I will not blame him, nor lay any thing to his charge of which he is not guilty. I must needs give him his due. I do not remember that ever he insisted upon shedding of Blood, but that he hath discoursed in very opprobrious terms and base Language of the Duke of *York*; by calling him Rogue, and Dog, and such things: and that *We will do his work*: That is true. And, that after the King's decease, the Duke of *Monmouth*, having a Vogue with the People, must of necessity succeed: I cannot tell what I can say more as to that: that is the chief thing I have to say, if I have not forgot any thing.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Mr. *Rouse* you would do well to name those Persons that were with you in that Consultation.

Rouse. There was no Consultation at all; Sir. That I had was from this *Thomas Let's* mouth himself, That there were five hundred Arms to be brought in; That he had it from *Richard Goodenough*; and *Nelthbrop*, and *Mr. West*; and that *Mr. West* particularly knew from whom these Arms were to come, for he gave me a hint that part of the Arms were bought by *Mr. West*.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Who proposed the way of the Ball?

Rouse. Sir, he was saying, there were several Propositions made in the Club where *Goodenough* was; and some thought of one way and some another; but they could not find out a proper way: Saith he, what do you think? Said I, if the People meet together they may throw up a Ball, just in that careless way, I said so. So he came to me afterwards, and said, that he had discoursed with *Mr. Goodenough*, and *Mr. Goodenough* told him, that there was forty thousand pound in Bank and if such a Ball cost thirty or forty pound, it mattered not, to carry on such a Design as that was.

Here Captain *Walcot* spake.

Captain Walcot. Sir, I desire you to take notice of this, among other things, that so far as I ever heard of this business, it is of no longer a date than *August* or *September* last: I would not have this Consequence of it, so as to stifle the Popish Plot.

Mr. Sheriff. Do you know any thing of the Popish Plot that hath not yet been discovered?

Capt. Wal. No, Sir.

Hone. I had but the knowledge in *March* last of this business.

Capt. Wal. I do not know nor ever heard, that it was older than *August* or *September* last.

Mr. Sheriff. Ordinary, do your Office.

Ordinary to Walcot. Have you fully discharged your Conscience?

Capt. Walcot. I have.

But it being said that *Rouse* was interrupted,

Mr. Sheriff North. If you have any thing to say, Mr. *Rouse*, go on, but do not make Repe-
titions.

Who pulled his Paper out of his Pocket and looked on it.

Rouse. He declared further, Mr. Sheriff, That when once the thing came so far that the Tower and City was taken and so many Men gathered together, they would quickly increase; and the method was to go to *Whitehall* with Swords in their hands, and to demand Priviledges and Liberties, not to take away the Kings Life, but only let the D. of *T.* look to it: for he was resolved upon it that he should not succeed the King. Then he delivers another Paper, being his Petition to the King, and some more Notes in Short hand.

Ordinary. Have you fully satisfied your Conscience.

Rouse. I have Sir a Word or two to speak to the People. I have discharged my Conscience as to any thing as to what I was acquainted with. It had been happy for me if I had not heard of it; but that I had a hand in it I thank God I am free.

Dr. C. You had a hand in the concealing.

Rouse. That I had.

Dr. C. And in maintaining the Correspondency without discovering it; and you do diminish your Crime.

Rouse. No Sir, I don't desire it. Mr. Sheriff, I do freely acknowledge and confels that it is just in God in the first place, and righteous and just in the King, that I die; and that I die Justly for concealing it. I would lay no blame upon the King nor any other Person in the World. I did not conceal it upon any Account to his Majesty's Prejudice nor any Man in the Nation; and I hope God will give more Grace to those Persons that do succeed. I beg a Word or two I had almost forgot, as a Man and as a Christian, That it is a thing of such evil Consequence. I have found it by bitter Experience now, for such and such publick Places to be visited; especially by those that are Professors of the Protestant Religion, and particularly Coffee-Houses; where it is very well known too much time is spent, and Families, and Wives; and Children, suffer too much: I pray God the People may take notice of it and lay it to Heart that spend their time so, thinking it is but a
Penny

Penny and a Penny; and so discourse of State-Affairs as if so be they were Gods Counsellors in the Government of the World, running from the Coffee-House to the Tavern and from the Tavern to the Coffee-House, which hath been the Debauchery of this Age; and so bring them into this *Dilemma* to discourse of those Things neither pleasing to God nor the King, nor themselves, but their Prejudice. The Profanation of the Sabbath-Day is commonly discours'd of in this place; God forgive me for not observing it as I should. I pray God those that follow me may be more careful of their Duty to God and Man, for the good of themselves, their Souls, and their Families; those that are young especially and coming up, that they may chiefly mind their Concerns for Eternity, and that they would pay their Duty and Homage to the King and those that God has set over them, and not neglect that great Command to pray for the King and all that are in Authority.

Being asked if they had any thing more to say, They said, No. Mr. Ordinary then prayed with them and sung a Psalm; and then they desired to pray themselves: which was granted.

Captain Walton's Prayer.

O Lord, our God, Thou art the God of present help in time of Trouble, a God, that hast promised to be with thy People in the Fire and in the Water. O Lord, we pray thee, that thou wilt afford thy presence to thy poor suffering Servants at this time, that thou wilt enable us to pray with Faith, to trust in thee, to be in expectation and hope of Mercy from thee. O Lord, thy Servant that speaketh doth confess, that the Iniquities at his heels have justly overtaken him, that just and righteous art thou in all thy Judgments, that he hath reason to bear thy Indignation, because he hath sinned. O Lord, we beg, even for thy Son Christ Jesus sake, that our sins may not be brought to our remembrance in order to our despondency or discouragement, or our despairing in thy Mercy, but rather, O Lord, in order to an assurance that our great God hath pardoned and forgiven them in the Blood of his Son. O do thou bath each of our Souls in that Fountain set open for Sin and for Uncleanness. Give us, O Lord, inward Spiritual strength from thy self, and give us cause to bless thy Name for inward Supporting Graces, for inward assurances. O let us find an increase of spiritual strength, let us be assured that our Sins are done away, and let us also be assured that our Names are written in the Book of Life, and let it be such an assurance as may be matter of joy and rejoicing to our Souls. O do thou enable every one of us, from the inward evidence of thy Spirit, to say with thy Servant Job, That we know and are assured that our Redeemer lives. O do thou give us such an assurance of an Interest in thee, that we may be enabled in deed, in reality, and in truth, to say, that we have run our race, and we have finished our course with Joy: O let us now receive the fruit of those many Petitions that we have put up unto thee. O let us now find the Spirit influencing our Hearts to a yielding patience, and a thorough subjection to the Will of God: let us find thy Spirit assuring us that we are thine. O let us have stronger Evidences of thy Love, stronger Testimonies of thy Affection: O give us some inward Tastes of those heavenly Joys that we hope through the Mercy of Jesus Christ in a little time to have a more-full Fruition of. O Lord, do thou speak peace to every one of our Consciences; enable us to take hold of thy Strength that thou may'st make Peace with us, and let us not be discouraged, O Lord, since we have a High-Priest that can be touched with our Infirmities: let us with Boldness have Access to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy and Grace to help in time of need. O take away the Sting and Terror that is in Death in any one of us, by assuring us of our Interest in thee, by assuring us that our Names are recorded in the Book of Life; tho we lye under a Sentence of Death from Man, we beg that we may have a Sentence of Life eternal from our God; and tho we meet thee, O Lord, in a Field of Blood, we beg that thou wilt come to meet with us in a Field of Mercy. O Lord extend thy Mercy, thou Lord whose Compassions faileth not, cause the Bowels of thy tender pity to yearn with Compassion towards us: enable every one of us, O Lord, to die believing in Jesus Christ, to die hoping in his Mercy, to die relying upon him for Justification, for Sanctification, and for Adoption. O Lord, though we have been Prodigal, we desire to return to our Fathers House where there is Bread enough. O enable us to come unto thee as Children to their Parents. O let our Prayers be offered with so much Fervour in Christ Jesus, that thou may'st think it reasonable to assure us of thy Love. O Let the Intercession of Jesus Christ be accepted. O Lord, we beg that he may be our Advocate; if our Advocate be our Judge, certainly we cannot miscarry. O let Jesus Christ be the Hope of every one of our Souls; and Lord let not our Hope be like that of the Hypocrite, but let our Faith be built upon the Rock of Ages, and let us not fall from the apprehension of Affliction and Punishment from men. Yet, O Lord, do thou so order our Hearts and our Spirits aright, that thou may'st be the Lot of our Inheritance, and our Portion for ever. O do thou interest us in thy self; Lord carry on thy own work. We desire to come unto thee that we may have life. Lord help us, Lord put to thy helping hand, Lord teach us truly to leave no Sin unrepented of in any one of our Hearts. And O Lord, we beg that with us thou wilt give us leave to recommend unto thy Care our poor Wives and Children: Thou hast promised to be the Father of the Fatherless, and the Husband of the Widdow; and thou hast commanded us to cast the Care of them upon thee. O do thou make Provision for them, deal kindly with them, imprint thy own Image upon them, and enable them to bear this severe stroke with Patience. O Lord, stand by and support them; let their Ways be found so pleasing and acceptable unto thee, that thou may'st think it reasonable to make all their Enemies at Peace. Lord, interest them in thy Love, and do thou favour them with thy Mercies and loving Kindnesses. O Lord, we also beseech thee in the behalf of these poor Kingdoms wherein we are, that thou wilt be merciful to them, prevent Divisions among them, heal all their Breaches, compose their Differences, make all that are thine of one Heart and Mind in the things of thee our God. And Lord, if it be thy Will, do thou rule in the Heart of the King; that he may rule and reign for thee, and for the good of thy Church and people. Lord, favour us with thy Mercy; assure us of thy love, stand by us in the difficult hour, take us into thine own Care, cause the Angels to attend us, to convoy our Souls as soon as they are divided from our Bodies, into Abraham's Bosom, into the Paradise of our God. And Lord, we beg that thou wilt be with us, with thy extraordinary Presence, helping us to trust in thee, doing for us beyond what our narrow Hearts are able to ask or think. All which we beg for the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom, O Lord, this little time do thou give us Hearts to give thee all Glory, Honour, and Praise, now and for evermore. Amen. Sweet Jesus. Amen.

H O N E's Prayer.

Glorious Lord our God, thou art the God of the whole Creation, and the God that created the Heavens and the Earth in six days; by thy power we stand here before thee: Lord, help us to be looking up unto Jesus Christ, who is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour to give Repentance to Israel, and Remission of sins. Now, Lord, for thy mercies sake we would be helped to say, That Power that raised up Christ from the dead, that is able to raise up our poor Souls before thee from Death to Life. O Lord, for thy mercies sake wash all our Souls in the Blood of Jesus Christ, which speaketh better things than that of Abel: and, Lord, for thy mercies sake pardon all our sins, from our first, our Original sins, and our sins of Sabbath-breaking, and our sins of Transgression, and the sin for which we are condemn'd; O Lord, pardon it, and let us not go out of the World with one sin hid in our Souls. For thy mercies sake pardon all our sins; and, Lord, do thou preserve this Nation, and put it into the heart of the King to be merciful, and to rule in Truth and Righteousness. And for thy mercies sake, rule the Affairs of this Nation, and help to rule and govern all things for the government of our Souls and our Spirits, for thy mercies sake: and help us that with joy we may be received into Glory, into the eternal Habitations: for Christ is sent into the World to that purpose, to save sinners, of whom we are chief. And, Lord, for thy mercies sake, let me have a true belief in Jesus Christ aright, to be looking up unto him for Life and for Salvation. Oh that we might perish, and be found doing thy will to the utmost of our power. Lord, accept of us, and help us and be with us this little time we shall be in this world. All which we beg for the sake of Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory with the Kingdom both now and for evermore.

O Lord our God, who art nearer to each and every one of us, than we are to our selves: It is not all the Confessions to men in the World, were it confessed by the Tongues of Angels, those glorious Spirits above, that can avail any thing with the great God, against whom we have sinned, or that can procure pardon for the least transgression which deserves eternal wrath. And therefore for the Sins that we have been guilty of, either against the first or the second Table, either against God as our Creator, Christ as our Redeemer, or the Holy and Blessed Spirit as our Sanctifier, the sins that we have committed against thy holy Church, and that Faith that I hope we die in the belief of, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Neighbours, upon one account and another, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Governours & Rulers, to whom thou hast obliged us under manifold obligations, both as Men & Christians, the sins that we have been guilty of in our several places, Relations and Capacities whatsoever, whatever have been their Circumstances & their Aggravations; the least whereof deserves everlasting death, without the Merits of Jesus; for all those greater or lesser sins, whether that original sin we brought into the world with us, that source and fountain, and foundation of all other sins, those actual sins and transgressions against any of those that thou hast set over us, or those that have been equal with us; those relation-sins, as Husband and Wife, as Master and Servant, in every relation and capacity; Lord forgive them, and wash them away in the blood of the Lamb of God, that stands at the right hand of the Majesty on high. And because we have no worthiness of our own to recommend us to thee; therefore we beg thee for thy Sons sake to fetch arguments from thy self. Our righteousness is as filthy rags, and the best of us are as a menstruous cloth. Fetch Arguments from the riches of thy grace, from the goodness of thy nature, from the multitude of thy mercies, from the blood of thy Son, from that blessed, eternal intercession that we hope he is making for us, and for all that belong to the election of Grace, and shall be brought to glory. Remember thy Churches, hasten the fulfilling of thy promises, the accomplishing of thy prophecies through the world, the downfall of the man of sin, and the destruction of all thy true Churches implacable enemies. Lord hasten the day of the calling the Jews, and the fulness of the Gentiles; put an end to Wars and rumours of Wars, let the desire of all Nations come. Dwell in these Three Nations, be a wall of fire round about them; prevent any kind of Insurrection at home, all manner of Invasion from abroad; let those that tarry behind, enjoy peace, and truth, and righteousness. Dwell in and reign in the heart of the King. Lord bless and prosper him in his Person, give him a long, a prosperous, and a happy Reign. Good Father we pray thee, let him live here with a flourishing Crown upon his head, till thou in thy due time shalt receive him to an eternal Crown hereafter. Bless him in his Royal Family and Relations, in his Royal Brother. Bless him in his Royal Consort; make the King a Nursing Father, and the Queen a Nursing-Mother. Confound all hatred, malice and envy, all evil speaking, every thing that is contrary to sound Doctrine and give thy people that live under him, to shew that dutifulness and respect as becomes Christians, and as becomes Loyal Subjects. Bless the Clergy, by whatsoever Names or Titles distinguished, make them sound in their Doctrine, and make them useful and unblameable in their Lives and Conversations. Help them to mind the Souls committed to their charge, and help them to do their duty; that they may be able to say, behold here are we and the Children whom thou hast given us. Now Lord bless all the Nation from the highest to the lowest, from the Prince to the Peasant, of all sorts, ranks and degrees. Give Loyalty towards our dread Sovereign, who is a merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou hast set as thy Vicegerent to Reign over us; who can do nothing but what is just and equal before thee, to whom he must give an account of all his Transactions, even to thee the King of Kings. And Lord grant peace and love and unity one among another, and the practical observation of thy holy day, and those duties that relate to God and Man. Grant that those that follow after us, may take particular Example by us. We must needs acknowledge and smile upon our thighs, that we in Justice are brought hither, that we have nothing to do, but to condemn our selves, and Justifie the Justice of the Land, and to pray God to bless his Majesty to Reign in these Nations, and those that shall succeed him upon the Throne. All which we beg upon the account of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was dead, and behold he lives, to whom with thy self and eternal Spirit, we desire to ascribe, as is due, all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

There was these Lines more in the Paper delivered by Captain Walcot, than what you have before seen.

AS to Ireland, I am very inclinable to believe, could I have charged any body there, with being engaged in the matter for which I suffer; I might have had my Life, but by the blessing of God, I will charge no man wrongfully, no not to save my Life; and these being some of the last words I am to speak, I do aver I knew not an Englishman, or Protestant in Ireland any way engaged in it. Besides, I was told, they that were mostly concerned, did not value Ireland, and said it must of course follow England. Something I heard of one Gentleman in the North, and whether it be true or false I will not determine.

ANIMADVERSIONS

Upon a Paper, Entitled, The *SPEECH* of the late

LORD RUSSEL, &c.

THE words of Dying Persons are apt to give the deepest impressions upon the Minds of the Living, and though possibly there is no point in which I am more tender, than in treading upon the memory of such, who are out of the capacity of making their own Defence; yet resolving to comport my self with all decency, which I would do if the person were living, I think it a necessary duty to endeavour to hinder the spreading of that Contagion, which has proved so fatal to the pretended Author of this Speech, and I fear will prove so to others, if they be not charitably undeceived; and truly, if the Dissenters, who do so greedily swallow down all that is said in that Paper, as if the supposed Author were a martyr, and the words as true as Gospel, do not open their Eyes to see the wondrous Contradictions, which providence has so visibly opposed to those Insinuations, my fears for them are extraordinary, that they are hardened to their own destruction; and let them be never so angry, I will do all I can to prevent the mischief they will certainly pull upon their own heads, whilst they prepare it for others.

I con-

I confess I have the utmost difficulty to believe this Speech to be the Lord *Russell's*, and cannot but suspect the finger of *Joab* to be in it; and my reason is, because there is so much Panegyrick, as is not at all consistent, either with the modesty or humility of a Person born of worthy good Parents, and who has had the advantages of a Religious Education, as it is there expressed, for he could not then miss of the Divine Precept of the wisest of mere mortal Men, *Let another Man praise thee, and not thine own Lips*. The office of making Inventories, of the Virtues as well as Goods of the deceased, and the care of embalming their Memories as well as Bodies, has ever been committed to the discretion of their Friends, who may without Vanity or Ostentation say those things, which would no ways become themselves. And since that unfortunate Lord tells us, He could never consent to do a base thing, I think it is a service to vindicate him from the most indecent and abject of all Follies, the blazoning himself, and proclaiming his own Praises, which is at the least one third part of that sheet of Paper.

But to let pass the Panegyricks as the most innocent, though not most wise, I shall only give them this Remark: That whoever was the Penman of that Paper, has not done it without a most injurious design, of insinuating into the heads of the intoxicated Rabble such a Poyson as may turn them round; since the natural and easie inference from thence is, That this Gentleman being a person of those Excellencies, and innocent as he avers of the Crimes for which he dies, the Loss is the greater, his Case the harder, and the Injustice done him so much the worse. And we are not unacquainted how far ill men carry on their Reflections, to the disparagement of the Justice both of God and Man, and to run the wild *Mobile* into the utmost Frenzies of Extravagance against, and detestation of the Government and their Governours.

I shall not insist upon some Expressions, which seem next to Equivocation, as, *his living and dying of the Reformed Religion, a true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of England*, and many such-like words so ambiguous, that all the several Sects will pretend to an interest in him; and though the scandal of suffering for High Treason be not very reputable for any sort of Men, yet I am glad for the sake of the Loyal Church of *England*, that he does not say he is of the Reformed Church of *England* as by Law established, which teaches all her true Children not only not to conspire or act Treason upon any pretence whatsoever, but not so much as to Curse the King in a thought in their safest Retirement from discovery or danger, even in their Bed-chamber.

That which I would chiefly lay my stress upon, is the obviating some things which are of malicious and dangerous consequence, not only to the Government, but to the Dissenters from it, who, I fear, may for want of his giving Glory to God as he ought, become more obstinate, in persisting in the belief of their mistakes, which, without Repentance, will certainly prove fatal to them possibly in this World, but certainly in the next.

And first I observe that the great scope and drift of the Speech is to persuade foolish people that they are in the utmost danger of Popery, as particularly *P. 2. I did believe and do still* (saith he) *that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation*. This very Topique has already cost this Nation 40 Millions of Treasure, and 100000 lives, and one which was more valuable than them all, that of our late Martyred Sovereign King *CHARLES* the first, for whose innocent blood, I fear divine Vengeance is now calling the Dissenters to an account, and making inquisition for blood. With this fear of Popery it is that the people have been so far mislead, as to give the late Conspirators hopes to be assisted by them, even by the confession of this Speech to *undo us all*, to Murder the best and most Gracious of Princes, and subvert the easiest of all Governments. And now let all the world judge who knows best; or is most likely to prevent the coming in of Popery, the King, who upon all occasions has condescended so far as to avow to his people, that he will do all that lyes in his power to keep out Popery, or my Lord *Russell's* Speech, which affirms to the contrary; it is not only good manners to believe the King, who is as an Angel of God, rather than all the malicious Speeches of men to the contrary, but I do aver, that whoever gives credit to this Calumny, against the Kings avowed Declaration, the known rule and practice of the Law to suppress Popery, is not only an uncharitable and ill Christian, but a most disloyal Subject, since it is notorious, that this old *Shaftsbury's* Cloak of fear of Popery, is the very mantle of Rebellion.

The next thing is the innocence of this Gentleman; which is very positively avetred in the spoken Speech, where 'tis said, *in the words of a dying man, I profess I know of no Plot either against the Kings life or the Government*. What? know of no Plot? I profess it is boldly said, and I doubt not but will be readily believed by the whole Party. But it were well for them if it had been as plainly proved, and truly had the Speech stopt here without the following comment upon the Text, it would have been some difficulty to have expounded it, and others may do what they please, but I cannot chuse but attribute the Printing & industrious dispersing of this Speech to a superiour hand, which has appeared so marvellously visible in the discovery of this Hellish Treason. What so many discourses as are confessed, *of the feasibility of seizing the Kings Guards*, p. 3. my Lord exclaiming against it, and asking if the thing succeeded what must be done next, &c. the Duke of *Monmouth* tells him my Lord *Shaftsbury* and some bot men would undo us all, and asks him at another time.

Did you ever bear such a horrid thing? and yet to say he dyes innocent, or knows of no Plot against the King's life or Government, I protest I stand amazed at the contradiction: for the Evasions are too silly and thin, to think that the horrid thing was only killing the Guards, or that which would undo us all, was some disorderly thing or other which the hot men would do, if great care were not taken. Alas! that any man should be so weak himself as to think to impose upon others such foolish inconsistencies. No certainly the horrid thing, such as was never heard of, that would undo us all, must be Crimes of another nature than this palliating Speech insinuates, and can be of no other import than Treasons of the blackest complexion. And after the knowledge of such things, to say a man knows no Plot, and that he dyes innocent, cannot be said unless Plotting and knowing of it be no Treason, and that the same person may be the greatest Criminal, and the most innocent at the same time.

I would fain be Answered one Question: And that is, What should this discourse about seizing the Guards be so often debated, and to what purpose can it be supposed to be done? He must be stupid that does not see it carry Treason in the face of it; either in Seizing or Assassinating the Kings Person, or both successively, but still the knowing of this must be misprision of Treason. It was well my Lords Council knew better things, when they advised him *not to confess matter of Fact plainly*, for if he had confessed as much as this Speech does, he would have saved the Witnesses a labour, and the *easy and willing Jury*, as the Speech calls them, would not have had occasion to withdraw from the Bar for their Verdict: the Law says, there are no accessaries but all are principals in Treasons. He confesses, *he was pressed with this, that he was acquainted with these heats and ill designs and did not discover them*, pag. 3. and infers *this is but misprision of Treason at most*; but his Lawyers knew better; and though it can do him no service, yet because it may do others who think not revealing Treason no Crime, or that the bare discoursing it is so little a thing, I will give the opinion of one of the Oracles of their Party Mr. St. Johns in his Argument concerning the attainder of the E. of *Strafford*, as I find it in Dr. *Nalsons* 2d Vol. of Collections published the other day, folio 169. where he proves, that bare Machination to raise War, is Treason: He gives several instances, and one most remarkable as follows. In the 3d year of King *Henry IV*, one *Balshal* coming from *London*, found one *Bernard* at plough in the Parish of *Osfey* in the County of *Hertford*: *Bernard* asked *Balshal*, What news? he told him, that the news was, that *Richard II.* was alive in *Scotland* (which was false for he was dead) and that by *Midsummer* next, he would come into *England*: *Bernard* asked him, What were best to be done? *Balshal* Answered, get men and go to King *Richard*. In *Michaelmas* Term, in the 3d. year of *Hen. 4th.* in the Kings Bench, Rot. 4. This advice adjudged Treason.

One Story in Q. *Eliz.* time practised to Levy War; nothing done in pursuance of a practice, the intent adjudged Treason, and he Executed upon it, even before the Act of the XIII. *Eliz.* which made intention Treason during Her Life: For this Case was adjudged in *Hillary* Term, the Parliament begun not till the *April* following.

Now let us infer, if Seizing the Kings Guards and making them Prisoners, which cannot be done without Arms, be Levying War, and Levying war be Treason, and the debating this matter be also Treason, and there can be no accessories but all Principals in Treason, and my L. *Ruffel* was at many of these debates, and acquainted with these ill designs, What becomes of his innocence? most assuredly in the sight of God and Man he is Guilty.

Nor is he so innocent neither in that commonly call'd Gentile Quality, which he seems next to his pretended innocence so much to value himself upon, that, he saith, *he hopes no body will imagine that some man a thought should enter into me as to go about to save my self, by accusing others*. It seems he could then, if he had not thought it base and mean; but truly if he had too much gallantry to save his Body, he ought to have had enough Religion to save his soul. And I tremble to think that some persons, who should have done otherwise, have dealt so unfaithfully with him, as to let him dye glorying, and impenitent of two most horrible sins.

For first, here is a most manifest Perjury, which by this not accusing all he knew guilty of these heats and ill designs, he stands manifestly in *Articulo Mortis*, convict of, by his own Confession. For as a Member of the Commons House, how often, as well as in other capacities, he hath sworn by the Omnipotent God, upon the Holy Evangelists, the Oath of Allegiance, of 3 *Iac.* *To do his best endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and Traiterous Conspiracies, which he shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them*: And yet out of a piece of Gallantry, it is too mean a thing to accuse others. So brave a thing it is to break the Oath of God, and without infinite Mercy, to leap headlong into Damnation, and excuse it as a piece of Bravery. O! wretched Conductors of this poor Gentlemans Soul, to let him pass into Eternity with that dreadful Imprecation annexed to this Oath, of *So help me God*, unthought of and unrepented of! *There were some things said at Shepheard's by some*, the Speech tells us, *with more heat than Judgment*. These things ought, by the force of this Oath,

to have been revealed; upon the, no less, danger than renouncing all help from God, and all hopes of happiness, and It will be a poor plea for a shivering soul before the dreadful Tribunal of infinite Justice, to say as the Speech does, *that he did then sufficiently disapprove them*; when he was under the indispensable obligation of a most Solemn and sacred Oath, and of the forfeiture of mercy and Heaven bound to disclose and reveal them to the King.

Nor is it a little sin, whatever men may think, not to give Glory to God, but a public acknowledgment and repentance for that Guilt and those Crimes, for which his justice has brought any person to such publique and exemplary punishment. For besides the Injustice which is done to the Righteous Judge of all men, in not vindicating his Glory by a clear and ingenuous confession it hath this dangerous influence upon others, that thereby they are hardened in their impenitence, and even after death a person may become criminal and accessory to all the ill and dangerous consequences which may be the effects of this suppressing of truth.

I pray God some people be not sensible of this, to their utter Ruins: For I cannot without strange apprehensions see the people swallow this deadly draught of Poyson, and endeavour to stifle the most horrid and barbarous Conspiracy, the most clearly proved, and most miraculously both detected and disappointed, that any Age or Story can parallel. A Conspiracy which would have laid these Nations waltering in Blood, and would have made our Posterity the most absolute Slaves to Tyranny and Usurpation of any in the Christian World. And it amazes me to here people talk, That what these Conspirators did was only for preservation of the Protestant Religion, and not against the King's Life, when the Sun is not more clear than this discovery, that nothing could so entirely have ruined the Government and the Reformed Religion as this Conspiracy, had it taken effect, was designed to have done.

There are a Thousand other things might be said, and very necessarily, but I thought it more proper, though with too swift a hand, to do something towards the stemming of the Tide, than to let it overrun all the Banks for want of a little early care to stop the first Breaches, and I doubt not but some others will give this Speech a more deliberat Answer, than can be expected from these hasty lines, which are the effect of a perfect duty and Loyalty to my King, zeal to the Glory of God, and the good of all my fellow Subjects, excuses I hope sufficient to procure a Pardon for a Paper writ, it may be, with more affection than any other Ingredients which might have rendered the composition proportionate and exact.

God preserve his sacred Majesties person, the whole Royal Family, the Government, our Religion, Lives, Laws, and Liberties, from the Conspiracies of such men as think Treason Innocence, and concealing it a Glory, and may all the yet secret Machinations of wicked *Achitophels* and *Rebellious Absaloms* be for ever defeated and discovered.

ANIMADVERSIONS

On the last Speech and Confession of the late

WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL.

HAVING perused a certain Printed sheet, called, *The Speech of the Lord Russel to the Sheriffs; together with the Paper delivered by him to them at the place of Execution*; I could no wayes imagine the said Paper to be the Words of a Person of his Quality, or indeed of a dying Christian, till I found underwritten, *Printed by J. Darby by direction of the Lady Russel*.

Upon this satisfaction, I could not forbear seriously and thoroughly examining the Contents of the Speech and Paper; and upon full consideration thereof, I think it the Duty of a good Subject to give the World my opinion of the several Protestations and Assertions throughout it, and the Tendency they naturally bear.

In his short Speech to the Sheriff he sayes little; only, *That he expected much noise at that place, and therefore being not fond of much speaking, and much less at that hour*; He tells the Sheriff, *He had set down in that Paper (then and there given him) all that he THOUGHT FIT to leave behind him*: And truly in that he spoke like an Oracle, for in the said Paper he has left no more behind him, as he sayes, then he *I thought fit indeed*.

It is true, he continues in the said Speech to affirm, *In the words of a dying man, I know of no Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government*. The Truth and Validity of which dying Protestation, we shall see fully examined in his following Paper.

The subject of the first Paragraph in the Paper, is only *his thoughts* of another World, and his Preparations made for death; his thanks to God for his Infinite blessings, both in the advantages of his Worthy Parents and Religious Education, with the assurance of the love and mercy of God

through the merits of Christ, and fullness of joy in his Presence, &c. All which I have nothing to say to, but only to wish with cordial Christian charity, that he has found that mercy from the hands of a Gracious God, which his own hopes assured him: For Heaven forbid the highest of Criminals should be punish'd beyond the Grave, or that a Temporal punishment with a true Penitence might not be a sufficient Expiation for the greatest Guilt.

In the second Paragraph, he gives you an account of his faith, saying, *I dye of the Reformed Religion; a true and sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of England, though I could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the heights of many People.*

Here it is true he is of the Church of England's Communion; but indeed such a *Mungril* Communicant of that Church, that he cannot comply with, or rise up to the heights of many people, of that Communion. Now how he has lag'd below the members of our Church; not only the Fatal cause that brought him to his End, demonstrates; but a farther sample of his Religion we have upon record in the learned Works of his own good *Chaplain* the Author of JULIAN.

Where the Doctrine of, *Rebel my Countrey-men*, is so elaborately handled, and that great pattern of Christ *Submission to Magistracy*, and that distinguishing *Sbibboleth* of Christianity, *Passive Obedience*, is so Artfully attacked; that truly from such a *Pastor*, and such *Principles*, 'tis undoubtedly evident, that (to use his Expression) he was not extreemly well taught to reach to the heights of the Church of England;

From this part of his Paper, to the end of the Chapter, his Lordship begins to bear up smartly to the matter; and the whole Paper throughout, is but a Compact of the highest Uncharity against the King and Court, a continued Arraignment of the Judges and Justice of the Kingdom, and indeed the whole Government it self: A heap of Exclamations against the monstrous dangers of *Poper*y, and an appeal to the very *Mobile* to remove them; and lastly a feeble and lame pretence of his own Loyalty and Innocence crutch'd up with so many *Reservations*, *Evasions*, and *Equivocations*, that even through his Lordships own *Spectacles* were never seen in the Rankest of *Jesuits*; which you'll find as follows.

But first, for a taste of his *Innocence*, in Paragraph the 8th. he avers, *I never was at Mr. Shepherds with that Company but once, and there was no undertaking then of securing and seizing the Guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them*: [which (nor none) I'll be so charitable not to take in the Affirmative, but read it (nor any)] *Some discourse there was of the Feasibleness of it, and several times by ACCIDENT in general discourse elsewhere I have heard it mentioned, as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to as fit to be done. And particularly at my Lord Shaftsbury's, there being some general discourse of this kind, I immediately flew out, and exclaimed against it; and ask'd if the thing succeeded; what must be done next but Massacring the Guards, and killing 'em in cold Blood? which I took'd upon as so detestable a thing, and so like a Popish Practice, that I could not but abhor it. And at the same time the Duke of Monmouth took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly. My Lord, I see you and I are of a Temper: did you ever hear so horrid a thing?*

Here observe the prettiest piece of more than Jesuitical Equivocation. The conference at *Shepherds* contained no *undertaking* of *Securing* or *Seizing* the Guards, &c. Only some discourse about the *Feasibleness* of it. If so eminent a piece of work as Seizing the Kings Guards were only a piece of *Title Tattle* amongst these great men, a Tryal of Skill to argue for *Wit-sake*, or to pass away the time over a Glas of Mr. *Shepherds Sherry*: How comes it about the Lord heard it by his own Confession SEVERAL TIMES, and oh wonderful, all by *accident*! A thing never intended to be put in Action, could never be the dull reiterated impertinent Talk so many times over, amongst persons of such Sense; nor could the Lord *Russel's* Exclamation of, *What kill 'em in cold Blood?* And harmless *Monmouth's* (*Oh horrid!*) to it, be a rational Repartee to a *Chimera*, or a Discourse only *en Passant*. No, no, the business is this; the Lord *Russel* is to die as Innocent as a *Sucking Lamb*, (for *Child unborn's* out of fashion;) and because the seizing of Guards was only Sworn against him at the meeting at *Shepherds*, to make the witnesses Perjured, the discourse of it at the other several times and Places might be in order to the putting it into Execution, and what Treason ye please; but at that one *only* time, 'twas all harmless *Prattle*, and nothing but the *Feasibleness* of the thing the mater in debate.

However, tho' the Innocent Lord lets us know, and all this with no less than the words of a dying Protestant, that the feasibility of the business was the only Argument of the Guards seizing, in this 8th. Paragraph: In the 10th. Paragraph he gives a farther Narrative of this meeting at *Shepherds*; and there, as damnable ill fortune would have it, he relates so different an account of the thing, that *Bedlow's* and *Prince's* description of *Sir Edmundbury's* Murder, are little less contradictory, viz. he says in these words, *The day before that Meeting, I came to Town for two or three days; and the Duke of Monmouth came to me, and told me, he was extreem glad I was come to Town, for my Lord Shaftsbury and some hot men would undo us all: How so, my Lord? I said, Why (answer'd he) they'll certainly do some disorderly thing or other, if some care be not taken;*

ken; and therefore, for Gods sake use your endeavours with your Friends, to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be Company at Mr. Shepherd's that night, and desired me to be at home that evening, and he would call me, which he did; and when I came into the Room, I saw Mr. Rumsey sitting by the Chimney, tho' he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more HEAT than JUDGMENT, which I did sufficiently disapprove, and yet for these things I stand condemned. But I thank God my part was sincere, and well meant.

Here we find the face of Affairs strangely alter'd; for now the Duke of Monmouth comes with an Out-cry, that my Lord Shaftsbury and other hot men were for doing things so disorderly, as threaten'd no less than to undo'em all; and Shepherds being the place of assignation, my Lord Russell heard some things said there with more Heat than Judgment. Now, that those things said must signify the business of seizing the Guards, is plain, by my Lords owning it to be that for which he stood condemned; and that the debate must be upon the down-right Resolution and Proposals of putting the project into a speedy Execution, is every way manifest; For, if the above-said harmless feasibility of it were all that had been argued amongst them, there had been no need either of Monmouth's Allarum, the Lord Russells Reproof, or the Companies Heat out-running their Judgment; nor was there any occasion for his thanking God that his part was sincere, and well meant, if theirs had been so too.

And that the Reader may not mistake, and think possibly these two different accounts of the Guards seizing might be at two different times, the Lord answers expressly, No; for he never was at Shepherd's in that Company but once.

Howsoever, the Lord Russell still upholds his Innocence; and tells you in the last Paragraph, It was inferred from hence, that I was acquainted with those Heats and ill Designs, and did not discover them; But that was but MISPRISION of Treason at most. I shall not answer for what pass'd at the Tryal, because 't is not yet publish'd, nor was I present to hear it; and therefore I leave the dispute of that to the Judges learned in the Law, that were not of my Lord Russells Opinion. But supposing my Lord would insinuate himself only guilty of Misprision of Treason from the proofs against him in this intended Vindication, he has recorded himself to all posterity plainly guilty of High-treason, in that very Paper where he arrogates the highest of Innocence. For suppose, as he affirms, that the proof of his being in a Company once at Mr. Shepherds, where Treason was spoken, and the concealing it were only Misprision; Misprision being imagined to be a mans unfortunate hearing of Treason spoken in ill Company, and afterwards the wanting of prudence or care to detect that Treason. Yet in his Paper, his Crime is of a deeper dye. He confesses there, he held Amity and Correspondence with persons that did not once or twice, but several times treat upon the same numerical Treasonable Projection; He visited'em at their own Houses, as Shaftsbury's for instance, and gave'em meetings abroad; And tho' it be Misprision of Treason to conceal the hearing of it tho' a man abjures and avoids the Company of the Traytor that speaks it; yet this Innocent Lord continues the highest friendship with these very Treason-mongers, Herds and Nests with them at all turns, and has the continued Repetition of Treasonable Machinations in his ears, and yet his want of discovery is and shall be only a bare Misprision of Treason. But the Noble Lord makes a very honest and charitable excuse for his silence in not discovering, viz. I hope no body will imagine that so mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my life by accusing others. That is, my Lord could hear Shaftsbury and his Crew projecting to play the Cut-throats, & of no less than the Kings Guards, and that too in cold Blood, tho' indeed himself abhor'd such a Popish practice; yet at the same time he affirms it a more Gentleman like Quality, to be true to Cut-throats than Kings, to Treason than Loyalty, and hopes no man will imagine him capable of so mean a thought as to have discovered this Band of Associating Murderers, tho' threatening no less than the Murder of the Kings Guards. But my Lord is to be Innocent still, and must and shall be so; for, alas! the seizing of the Kings Guards was no Design at all, God knows, upon the Kings Person; for in the next Paragraph he is very outrageous to think how hard a Sentence he had; for he says, Nothing was sworn against him, but some discourses about making some STIRS; [a pretty Puritanical mincing word for a National Insurrection] which by no means he will allow to be levying War against the King. Besides, by a strange Fetch, the Design of seizing the Guards, was construed a Design of killing the King; and so I was cast. Good Heavens! that Ignoramus was out of fashion and that a pack of Popish Tory Jury-men, should ever interpret a Combination for seizing the Guards of a King to be the least ill intention against the Person of Majesty. Nay, the dying Lord is so extravagantly possess'd not only with his own undoubted Innocence, but even of those very men too that with all this Heat and Fury so many several times machinated so murderous and Treasonable a Design, that in the 13th Paragraph he wishes that the Gentlemen of the Law would make more conscience than to run men down by strains and fetches, and impose an easie and willing Juries, to the Ruine of Innocent men; for to kill by forms & subtilties of Law, is the worst sort of Murder. But I wish the rashness of hotmen, & the partiality of Juries, may be stop'd with my Blood; which I would offer up with more

joy, if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way. In this 'tis plainly intimated, that his very Brethren in iniquity, those that not like himself *disfented* and *disapproved* of seizing the Guards, but the very Promoters & Defenders of the Design, are all *Innocent* too; insomuch that 'tis his last Prayer, That their guiltless Blood may not be sacrificed like His, but himself may be the last of Martyrs in this Cause.

I protest I am so startl'd at the latitude of some mens consciences, and the extravagance of some mens self-justification, that I wonder what 'tis they will allow to be Treason, or whether or no they have not expunged all those Texts in their Bibles that teach Obedience to Kings as the *Ordinance of God* till at last they believe there is no such Duty in the whole Body of Christianity, and no such thing as Treason in *Rerum Naturâ*.

But to return to his Lordships Confession. Amongst those unanswerable Demonstrations of his Loyalty to the Crown, and love to the King, with the description of his miraculous Innocence, he gives you his sense of the present State of the Nation; and in the second Paragraph he says, *I wish with all my Soul all our unhappy differences were removed, and that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the danger of Popery; as to lay aside their Heats, and agree against the common Enemy*. In that good wish I hope all good Protestants will joyn with him, provided his *Uniting and Agreeing* be honest, as I much suspect the contrary; For he goes on, and says.

For Popery, I look on it as an idolatrous and Bloody Religion, and therefore thought my self bound in my Station to do all things against it. And by that, I foresaw I should procure such great Enemies to my self, and such powerful ones, that I have now been for some time expecting the worst. And blessed be God I fall by the Ax; and not by the fiery Tryal.

Here his Protestant Lordship very cunningly, but most venomously too makes his Death no less than a *Popish Conspiracy* against him; and that from his fatal Zeal against Popery, he foresaw the great and powerful Enemies he should procure, and expected the very Fate beset him. And to explain himself farther on this Topick, paragr. the 7th. he says; *that his earnestness against the Duke about the Bill of Exclusion, had no small influence on his present Sufferings*. And again par. the 9th. he says, *I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation; and those that will advance it, will stop at nothing to carry on their Designs, I am heartily sorry so many Protestants give their helping hand to it: But I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and this Nation, tho I am affraid it will fall under very great Tryals, and very sharp Sufferings*.

Here we have his Lordships Scheme of the whole Nations Destruction, by the already All-commanding power of *Popery*, and himself no less than one of the *Proto-Martyrs* to it, only he thanks God he falls by the *Ax*, not the *Faggot*. And who is in this damnable new *Popish Plot* against the Lord *Russels* life, but that great and powerful Enemy the *Duke of York*; for his Bill of Exclusion earnestness, was the great influence in his Fall. And to effect this new Diabolical *Popish Conspiracy*, those that advance it; will stop at nothing to carry on their Designs; nay, the very Protestants have a hand in it, insomuch that he plainly insinuates that all those new *Protestant Evidences* against himself and the rest of the late Plotters; tho' men of *Quality* and *Fortune*, tho' men of their own *Faction*, are only so many *Popish Tools* engaged by *Subornation* and *Perjury*, from the great *Popish Enemies* of our Religion, to remove the great zealots for the Protestant Religion, and cut the Throats of the Innocent, by no less than the most unexampled and most infernal of *Perjuries*.

Nay, the Root of all this premeditated Plot against their Protestant lives, lies not in the *Witnesses* and their *Suborners* only, but in the very Judges and Juries themselves. For he says in para. the 13th. *From the Time of choosing Sheriffs, I concluded the Heat in that matter would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon me. And I wish what is done to me, may put a stop and satiate some peoples Revenge, and that no more Innocent Blood be shed.*

Here 'tis observed, that not only the Justice of the Nation is impeached, but the wanting of the old *Ignoramus* Sheriffs and Juries is an evident combination against the lives of *Loyal, Innocent, and Protestant Subjects*; nay tho the kind Lord confesses that *Schaftsbury* himself, once acquitted by *Ignoramus*, with the rest of his *Accomplices* were really Guilty of Conspiring the seizing the Guards, and murdering 'em in cold Blood, and raising of *Stirs* alias *Insurrections*; yet the want of Sheriffs and Juries to plead *Ignoramus* even to such audacious Conspiracies; is a bringing of Innocence and Loyalty to *Scaffolds* and *Gibbets*; a gratifying the insatiate Revenge of *Popish Courtiers* Conspiring for *Guiltless Blood*, and no less than making *Popery* rule the *Ascendant* of the whole Court and City.

By this Insinuation of such a *Popish Confederacy* into the heads of the *Unwary* and *Ignorant Reader*, and indeed the whole Rabble of the Kingdom too easily misled into such an Apprehension, the Zealous Lady *Russel*, to lose no time in so good a Design, having set it to Printing a day before the Lord died; Here's a plain, perfect and visible Incentive to the Multitude, to Revenge the Death

of this Innocent Lord, and rise up in Arms to prevent the growth of *Popery*, and the effusion of more Guiltless Blood still threatned. But truly the peaceable Lord in the 6th. paragraph, says, *I forgive the whole World, particularly all those concerned in taking away my Life: and I desire & conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge, but to submit to the Holy will of God, &c.* Here indeed the good Lord desires no Revenge; but at the same breath he intimates that his Blood *calls* for it, only his forgiving Charity *forbids* it. But this is so *transparent* a Mask, that half an eye may see through it, and this seeming Christian like Dehortation of the people from Rebellion, is but adding a new provocation to 'em to begin it, whilst the generosity and goodness of this *Murdered* Lord, as he calls himself, is but setting a *higher price* on his Blood. Thus after so many false colours on his own integrity, and *appealling to God he had no Passion, by end, or ill Design in him.* Tho' at the same time he tells you both his *Comrades* and their *Characters*; and his own privacy to their *abominable Practices* and *Projections*; he publishes that *false* inflaming Narrative of his own pretended Innocence, that is not to be matcht by any thing but the *Speech* of the *Noble Peer*, and deserves the same Fate.

Thus every Design against the Peace of the Nation, and all Plots and Machinations whatever against the King and Government, tho' never so plainly made out, or by more *substantial* Evidence, are to be instantly turned into *Popish Perjury* and *Subornation*: And no Guilt whatever *can* or *shall* lie at any door but the *Pope & Jesuits*; whilst the Execution of this Lord, is to be made no other a *Tool* than the Kings intended *Affassination*, viz. a *Popish Combination* and a *Popish Blow*. And yet see the wretchedness of the Project, in all this vehemence for Innocent *protestant* Blood, I defy any Impartial Reader to look o're but this short paper of the Lord *Russels*, and to tell me there is not 100 times worse matter discus'd and bandy'd by the Lord *Schaftsbury* and his *Colleagues* even in my Lord *Russels* single Sheet of paper, and all for the proving a *plot* against the Kings Life and the Government, than in all *Coleman's voluminous* Letters, the great and almost only *Gorgon* of *Popery*.

I shall only finish with my true and cordial sence of the publication of that paper, that't is a much greater *Dishonour* to the Noble Family of that *Great* Man, than the *Scaffold* he died upon.

F I N I S.